596 [591] comes and lives with her husband (5). [8]

[595] 5. The polygamous Mututsi does not occupy his own dwelling. He visits in turn each of his wives in their individual dwellings.

597 596 Adopted children are also part of the family. Thus a childless man (inchike) can adopt a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu), failing this, a son of his sister (umwishywa), or that of a friend. A [563] Mututsi cannot adopt a Muhutu child, and vice versa.

[428] As the women cannot inherit, adoption provides a means for a [562] brother to give his sister the benefit of certain advantages, for it has the effect of establishing a nephew as heir (kulaga, lit., to promise his property).

The adopted child acts exactly as if he were the son of his adopted father; he pays homage to the chief for him, he orders his affairs, he defends him in court, etc. The daughters call him brother [586] and if they are divorced they ask him for shelter.

It may also happen that the umwishywa may become at the same time head of his maternal uncle's rugo and chief of the maternal clan (umutware w'umulyango ya nyina).

597 428 The adopted child may keep the inkazibiti (1) received from

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 41.

his true father, but may no longer share in the division of the latter's inheritance. It may also happen that he receives his share (indemano) (2)

2. Cf. idem, p. 42.

before going to his adopted father; in this case while being a client (umugaragu) (3) of the latter, he remains also, by the indemano, a

3. The patron is called shebuja.

client of his true father.

If the adopted child is disobedient or ungrateful to his adopted father, the latter may curse him and send him away empty-handed.

429 chosen as guardian. In this capacity he exercises the prerogatives
768 of the paternal authority and manages for his wards the property left by the deceased.

If the male relatives on the paternal side have died, one of the maternal uncles will be guardian. In effect as each of the couple continues to belong to his and her umulyango, the children are members of both families.

429 Emancipation, which occurs normally at the moment of marriage comes when the young man reaches eighteen years of age. But it may happen that the children, having reason to complain of their guardian, go and seek justice, according to their rank, from the hill chief, the provincial chief, or the Mwami. When they are grown they may even emancipate themselves (proprio motu) by driving out their unworthy guardian.

8. Irregular Inheritance

428 While daughters are excluded from inheriting by the law of inheritance, they are always presented with gifts by the new head of the family, at least when he is their brother.

As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the following case may arise: A Muhutu, umugaragu of a rich Mututsi, has a daughter who is a servant to his master and who is married to another servant. When his client dies, instead of taking back the cows, the master can give them to the daughter's husband, who thus becomes his umagaragu.

When a wife dies, the few ornaments she owns (necklaces, bracelets) do not go to her daughter, but to her stepdaughters (her husband's daughters). With the political chief's permission, the mother may also give them to her son who was living with her and who will later on give them to his wife.

428 A man who has no sons (inchike) or who has cursed them may adopt
● 597 a son of his brother (umuhungu wachu) [73], or in his absence, a son of his sister (umwishywa). He promises him his inheritance and his inheritance and his nephew becomes his true son (1).

1. Cf. Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4.

357 The domestic bondsmen, the servants, are an important
567 element in the social structure and the economic life. Neither in Urundi nor in Ruanda does slavery exist -- or rather, it no longer exists. In fact, the Batussi do not need slaves for the Bahutu are all bondsmen of the Batussi rulers and provide all the services that are required of slaves in other parts of East Africa. On the other hand, until the turn of the century, there existed quite a brisk slave trade out of Urundi to other areas. This was carried on under the influence of the Arabs and the coastal dwellers, with the Wawira, Bassuwi, Wassumbwa, and Wanjamwesi acting as middlemen. Not only did the Barundi sell their countrymen as slaves, in particular the women and girls, but also orphans were sold by their relatives, and even children by their own parents (No. 19, p. 212). The purchase price was paid in salt, pearls, and iron hoes. Pretty Batussi girls fetched the highest prices and were destined for the harems of the Arabs, prosperous coast Negroes, or the Wanjamwesi. As recently as 1900 there were public slave auctions in Uha (Heru) and in Usámbiro. Mainly slaves from Ruanda (Kissaka) and Urundi were sold there. A witness wrote at that time: "All the roads are full of slave trains, almost all of them women and girls. Eight out of ten female slaves perish, for these children of the mountains only rarely survive in a different climate" (No. 14, 1900, p. 178). At present, as the German occupation progresses, these atrocities have been stopped, and only rarely and under the cloak of secrecy is a girl or a child from Urundi sold into slavery in the neighboring areas.

[97] In Urundi itself, however, in the households of many
357 influential families, especially of the Batussi, there are, in-
●597 stead of the domestic slaves, bond servants or maids (abaschumwi).
592 Although they are personally free, they have to work for the master and receive only room and board in exchange. They get their jobs by a kind of adoption; someone who has no relatives or who, for some reason or other, wants to leave his family will offer his permanent services to a prosperous Murundi or to a mutwale. The latter takes him into his home and treats him

357 like a member of the family (No. 19, p. 13). The adopted
597 person does the work around the house, tends the cattle, and
592 tills the fields, but he cannot acquire any property. If he wishes to give up his job and offer his services to another master, he may do so at any time, but the former master has so many indirect means at his disposal to force the servant to stay that most of those who have themselves adopted spend the rest of their lives with the same master.

592 Thus, the circle of dependents or retainers of any prosper-
559 ous and influential Murundi consists of these domestic servants,
573 of impoverished relatives and parasitic friends, fortune-hunting flatterers, and economic and political dependents of all sorts. Every day they pay homage to him in his kraal and accompany him wherever he goes. The greater the master's reputation, the larger is his entourage. It is rare that one sees a Mutussi of high status walking with an entourage of less than a dozen persons and often with as many as 20 to 30. In Urundi the entourage is called mafuatano; in Ruanda where the same institution exists it is referred to as bagaragu.

681 Debt slavery does not exist in Urundi. The Barundi, how-
[567] ever, have a great variety of very drastic punishments (ikihano) for violations of the law causing damage to life, limb, and property. In most cases the guilty party or his relatives or clan may atone for the misdemeanor or crime by a smaller or larger payment in the form of produce, cattle, salt, pearls, iron, etc. The amount is determined by the mutwale who acts as the judge (p. 94). If it is a case of a serious crime, manslaughter, murder,
628 or a serious injury, the kin group or clan vendetta (see p. 105)
672 becomes operative; this is done with the cooperation of the au-
681 thorities. The injured party or, if he has been killed, his kin group attempts to seize the wrongdoer by any means at their disposal. If the latter takes refuge in a neighboring province beyond the avenging arm of the injured kin group, an attempt will be made to catch one or several of his wives, children, brothers or sisters, close relatives, or members of his clan in his place. The captive is bound and locked up until his family obtains his freedom by paying a large amount of ransom money. This is forthcoming

766 of Urundi is dried and stretched out on a four-legged frame to be
643 worshipped. It is exposed until the frame is eaten by termites
[782] and collapses. Only then is the corpse wrapped up and buried at the same spot while many human sacrifices are made. The bodies of Ruanda kings, on the other hand, are dessicated by fire, whereupon the frame on which they lie and the entire hut are reduced to ashes. The death by fire of an entire family in its hut is said to be a favorite method of suicide among the Batutsi.

765 In conclusion we must mention an observation of Dr. Kandt (2):

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 476.

"The Wanjaruanda, a tribe living deep in the interior without any contact with Western ideas, say 'ukwirabura (to be black)' when they mean 'to be in mourning.' They say, 'ukwera (to be white)' when they mean 'the period of mourning is past.' This is all the more strange since the two colors in no way appear in dress, decoration, etc., to indicate mourning or the cessation of mourning."

Chapter 11

The Clan

614 Protection of the Individual. The basis of social organization in Ruanda as well as in the other parts of the interlacustrine region is the clan or blood relationship which is here known as umuryango.

The clan represents a society whose membership is replenished by natural increase, for every child belongs to its father's clan. As a result, every clan is actually a union of families closely or distantly related on the male side. Outsiders are admitted to the clan only in exceptional cases. This happens in Mulera, for example, when a family has only daughters and no sons. Since the [817] lack of male descendants would weaken the fighting force of the clan, families adopt sons-in-law as a precaution. In such cases the children are said to belong to their mother's clan and not to that of their father who in this way relinquishes the interests of his relatives.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

534 782 634 [301] A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he did not possess a drum and only used one when it was necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him: A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

[644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

534 [535] There was always dancing at new moon, which was accompanied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells. The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

ADOPTION

● 597 A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 614 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own, he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome [578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

SLAVES

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

2. THE FAMILY

Two basic types of family were to be found in Ruanda: the nuclear family which was the most widespread, and the polygynous family. The Ruanda polygynous family constituted a type of organization fundamentally different from the nuclear family. It was not just a nuclear family with a few more persons, the secondary wives and their children, but a structure composed of several elements, each of them constituting almost a nuclear family from the sexual, economic, procreational, and educational points of view. On the other hand, the polygynous family was not an aggregate of nuclear families because the uniqueness of the husband gave to the various elements a type of integration different from that merely of a sum of nuclear families.

A nuclear family (*rugo*) was composed of a man, his wife, and their children. It could happen that some additional persons lived with them, such as the widowed mother of one of the spouses or an old female relative (old men usually lived by themselves, with the help of a grandson). There could also be a child, a son, or a daughter of the husband's brother or even of the husband's sister (if the bride-wealth had not been given for his sister), or a child of the wife's brother.

Adopted children were also included in the rugo. These could only be children who had no lineage relatives left. Tutsi children, when adopted by Tutsi, were treated, while they were young, as if they were the adopter's own children; Hutu children if adopted by Tutsi were considered as clients. But adoption did not confer the full status enjoyed by an offspring of the adopter: the ward could marry a descendant of his foster-father. Cases of adoption seem to have been frequent and people appear to have been so eager to adopt that we may suspect that all the advantages were not for the child. The Ruanda highly appreciated all children, and this attitude accounts for the fact that a child was as such always welcomed in a family. Moreover, the man adopting a child expected more material advantages: a girl's marriage brought him the benefit of a new family connexion and boys could be as useful as his sons without having a right to inheritance. Our informants say that most of the boys when grown up fled away, hoping to find some distant relative of their own.

The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called